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the Gruda church was built three hundred and eighty years ago, soon after their arrival. This dates their settlement at the beginning of the sixteenth century—that is, after the Turks had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Djell and Berisha stocks are intermarriageable. About half the tribe was Catholic and half Moslem. It is now scattered and partly destroyed. The Powers awarded it to Montenegro in 1913 as a war

FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF ALBANIAN TRIBES IN 1913

prize in spite of the prayers of the people. It was devastated and many refugees fled to Scutari. Again, after the Great War, it was badly handled by the incoming Serbs, who were active against Moslem and Catholic alike. They even tore the rings from the hands of a poor old lady whose only crime was that she was Catholic. I saw many hapless refugees in Scutari in 1921, but was powerless to help them. As in the days of the Turk, a new foe was forcing a shifting of the peoples.

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2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before, after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno. Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best, died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

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of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat, mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo, possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi. They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti, who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli. They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

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Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza).

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it.

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church.

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas."

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group.

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church

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includes five districts or parishes, Sciossi, Kiri, Planti, and Givagni, that the territory of Shala is also in Pulati, and that "in it are the vestiges of an ancient city called Mauricum and the remains of seventeen sacred edifices, of which one was said to have belonged to the Benedictines." Mention is also made of the tribes of Salza (now Seltzi), Toplana, and Duscman (Dushmani), all of which still exist, and of "Blachia," not now identifiable. All the above-mentioned, we are told, "faithfully cultivate the Catholic faith. Like the Klementi and others of the mountain folk, they are free from Turkish servitude and free from all Turkish taxes." We thus see clearly that under their own clergy they occupied the same position as did Montenegro under its clergy. The popular tale that Montenegro alone resisted absorption by the Turk is not true.

The Montenegrin tribes, owing to the continuous support of Russia, however, obtained recognition, and were enabled to establish a ruling family, whereas the Albanian tribes, divided into several dioceses and with no leading Albanian family, did not succeed in forming an organic whole.

Pulati is difficult to define, as the limits of the diocese of Pulati extend farther than the district called Pulati by the people. Lower Pulati includes four tribes:—

1. *Plani*.—A Catholic tribe of one bairak, and consists of three stocks, which are intermarriageable and trace descent from Klementi, Merturi, and from the "Anas" (ancient population).

2. *Ghoanni*.—A small Catholic tribe of whose origin I have no information. The Bishop of Pulati has his humble residence in this tribe land.

3. *Mgula*.—Also a small Catholic tribe.

4. *Kiri* traces descent from two stocks—one from Kuchi, the other from Ipek. It is Catholic.

The other tribes of the diocese of Pulati, in what is called Upper Pulati, are:—

1. *Shala*.—A large tribe which played much part in Albania's struggle for independence, occupies all the upper part of the valley of the river Shala, and reaches to the summits of the mountains, which form the watershed on either side. Shala consists of four bairaks which all descend from a common ancestor. Shala, Shoshi, and part of Mirdita tell that they descend from three brothers, who fled from eastward, presumably from Kosovo, when it was overrun by the Turks some time in the fifteenth century. One had a saddle ("shala" in Albanian); the second a winnowing sieve ("shoshi"), and the third had nothing, so he said "Mir dit" (Good day) and went off. Shala, Shoshi, and three bairaks of Mirdita, being thus consanguineous, do not intermarry. Shala tells that when its ancestor arrived there were already small,

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dark people inhabiting the land, with whom they intermarried. Eight houses near Abate, in lower Shala, trace descent from these old inhabitants. The rest of them migrated to Dechani. The Albanians I saw at Dechani in 1903 were certainly all of the small dark type.

Shala consists of four bairaks: Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj. The three latter are said to have separated into three groups 376 years ago (told me in 1908). Lothaj and Lekaj recently decided they were far enough removed to be intermarriageable. But Shoshi and Mirdita still would not marry with them.

The bairak of Thethi consists of 180 houses. In these mountains a "house" is far more numerous than in the Maltsia e Madhe. Large communal "houses" still exist, of as many as thirty or forty persons. Thethi is self-governing, and, in fact, is practically a separate tribe. It clings strongly to exogamy, and does not intermarry at all within the tribe, nor does Petsaj. Thethi marries almost entirely with Boga, and this, continued through many generations, has made the Thethi differ somewhat in physical type from the rest of Shala.

2. *Shoshi.*—Origin as above. It lies south of Shala, on the right bank of Shala river. The rock of Lek Dukagin is in Shoshi territory. Shala and Shoshi reckon themselves as "Dukagini," former subjects, that is, of the now extinct chieftain family of Dukagin. Shoshi and Shala are entirely Catholic.

3. *Toplana.*—This was a very wild tribe and had the highest record for blood-vengeance of all the Christian tribes. It is situated in very rugged mountains difficult of access. Toplana told me it was "very old." Baron Nopcsa traced pedigrees to 1450, and considers that about that time it came in to its present site from Vasojevitch. Vasojevitch is known to have shifted its ground from somewhere near Focha in the Herzegovina to Medun, near Podgoritza, and thence to its present site. In one of these shifts it probably drove Toplana out.

The whole district occupied by the above seven tribes is often called Maltsia e Vogel, the little mountains. Also included in the diocese of Pulati is:—

4. *Nikaj.*—Here I was told that the tribe is mainly an offshoot from the Moslem tribe of Krasnichi, which, as we have seen, is brother to Hoti. Nikol, the ancestor, left Krasnichi while that tribe was still Christian, and Nikaj is all Catholic. One hundred houses of Nikaj, the Tsuraj, trace descent from a daughter of Nikol, who bore an illegitimate child by a cut-eared gipsy ("tsurrue," to cut or mark the ears). This is the only case of female descent I heard of. The cut ear suggests that the gipsy had been mutilated as a punishment and had fled to the mountains. The Nikaj people are dark and are a wild lot. Gipsy blood is possible.

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The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Baron Nopcsa considers the ancestor Nikol to have been brother and not son to Krasan.

THE PUKA GROUP

This is sometimes reckoned a large tribe of seven bairaks. Sometimes as a group of tribes.

It is an important group, as here are the oldest of all the population. Much is probably of indigenous origin with little immigration.

1. *Berisha-Merturi.*—The Berisha people state that they have always been in their present homeland. They formerly, says Nopcsa, occupied more, but were driven from Ibalja by the Thachi. With great patience the Baron traced some very extensive pedigrees with certainty back to 1370, and with probability to 1270, an extraordinarily detailed piece of oral tradition. Merturi split off from Berisha eleven generations ago. Even in the days when the district was included in the Serb Empire we find no Slav names in these pedigrees, and only two, Sokol (falcon) and Uk (wolf), occur later. As above mentioned, both Gruda and Kuchi also trace descent in part from Berisha. I would particularly direct ethnologists to this region before it is penetrated and broken up by roads.

Merturi, I was told, was an ancient Roman name "Merituri," but I have not traced it. That the Romans had a route through the district is shown by the place-names "Valbona" and "Apripa." Berisha-Merturi is all Catholic.

2. *Cheriti.*—Part Catholic, part Moslem. These people also stated that they were "very old," but I have no particulars.

3. *Komani.*—Catholic. In this tribe land are the ruins and the ancient graveyard known as Kalja Dalmaches, or tower of the Dalmatians, which is generally considered to be the remains of the Illyrian tribe of the Delmates or Dalmates, driven from the coast by the Romans. The present inhabitants seem to have no tradition of descent from these people, and no tradition, in fact, about them at all, so are clearly later immigrants.

The name Komani occurs also for a district in Montenegro, not far from Podgoritza. One is tempted to connect it with the Cumans or Komans, who were used as hired troops by various Balkan rulers, especially the Bulgars, in the Middle Ages. But we have no definite tale of their movements.

4. *Chiri.*—All Catholic.

5. *Dushaj.*—Catholic.

6. *Kabashi.*—Moslem. Nopcsa reports they came about 250 years ago to their present site.

7. *Puka.*—All Moslem.

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Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

THE POSTRIPA GROUP

619 175 Postripa is obviously a name bequeathed by the Romans. It consists of five tribes, all included in the Diocese of Pulati. Much of Postripa is Moslem, for it was quarrelled about by several bishops. In 1702 Pope Clement XI, who was of Albanian blood on his mother's side, sent Vicentius Zmajevitch as Visitator Apostolicus, who reported among other lamentable things that three bishops were all claiming Postripa, and that meanwhile the people are left "without leader or shepherd, like a scattered flock subject to oppression and persecution."

In Postripa are included five tribes:—

619 175 614 1. *Mazreku.*—A small Catholic tribe. That the place was in ancient days a centre of civilization is shown by the considerable ruins of an abbey, Shenkol Shati, believed to have belonged to the Benedictines and to be the one mentioned by several ancient writers as not far from Scutari. It is now lost in a tangle of trees and brushwood. There is [784] a strong feeling throughout Albania against felling trees on the spot where a church once existed—a feeling that probably goes back to the very ancient days of sacred groves. The abbey presumably fell into ruin when the Serbs seized the district in the Middle Ages. The hatred [798] of the Serb Orthodox for the Catholics was shown in 1913 in the Balkan War, when the Montenegrin troops, whose object was said to be "to liberate Christians," fell upon the little church of Mazreku, trampled the Host under foot, dressed up in the priestly vestments, danced about, and amused themselves by cutting off the noses from images of the saints and firing bullets into the crucifix.

2. *Drishti.*—A small Moslem tribe that was almost annihilated in 1913 by the Montenegrins. Drishti is the site of the ancient city of Drivasto, in ancient days a bishopric, mentioned as early as 877. The town was entirely destroyed by the Turks, who beheaded the leaders before the walls of Scutari—then too besieged—in order to terrify the Scutarines into submission. The wasted spot was afterwards settled by incomers from the neighbourhood of mixed origin. And in the period when three bishops were quarrelling for Postripa the Drishti folk all turned Moslem.

3. *Shlaku.*—A tribe of one bairak on the right bank of the Drin, in a [775] very poor district. It is all Catholic and traces origin from Toplana (*q.v.*).

4. *Dushmani.*—A Catholic tribe of two bairaks—Temali and Dushmani. Dushmani takes its name from a chieftain family which ruled here. In 1403 "Goranimus, Damianus, and Nenada, brothers Dusmani, Lords of Polati Minor," offer themselves as subjects to Venice and swear fidelity on condition that Venice will guarantee them in possession

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of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

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173 582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 166 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de- 292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared 765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 582 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 614 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North.

619 Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 779 186 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 614 779 582 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress. When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

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Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra.

2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of Maltsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes.

3. *Dibra*.—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji*.—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women.

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma*.—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

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614 Along with Ljuma were grouped Bruti, Mal i zi (the Black Mountain, not to be confounded with Montenegro), Rechi, Vlas, and some other small groups—all offshoots of older tribes, especially of Shala and the Fandi bairak of Mirdita.

DJAKOVA GROUP

614 619 1. *Gashi.*—All Moslem. About eight hundred houses. I did not visit it.

779 2. *Hashi.*—A very large tribe of, it was said, about a thousand houses, almost all Moslem. They had never seen a woman in European dress, and were greatly amused at my arrival armed only with an umbrella. They occupy the Pestriku mountains, traditionally a former [186] home of the Mirdites. They were hospitable and allowed me to pass through their land, but were so unused to foreigners and so afraid that their admission might bring about foreign annexation that I asked no questions about origin or anything personal.

603 173 3. *Tropopoja.*—Three hundred Moslem houses—I did not visit. The town of Djakova was founded by an offshoot of the Merturi-Berisha, and I was told derives its name from St. Jak (St. Giacomo), and that its founders were Christians. But when I visited it almost the whole of its large population was Moslem. There was a small Catholic church and school. Except for one hundred Serb families the town was solid Albanian. Two stocks claimed descent from the original founders: the Merturi and the Vula. The Vula was a large and powerful family, and I was told I could travel anywhere safely with a Vula as guide. I did so. He carried no weapon.

A large number of villages surround Djakova. These I found to be all Albanian, tracing descent from Berisha, Shala, Fandi, and other bairaks of Mirdita, as do many inhabitants of the town. None intermarry with their tribe of origin. The villages were mixed Catholic and Moslem. There were no Serb villages. The district is now part of Jugoslavia, and the population doubtless much changed by immigration and emigration.

IPEK GROUP

614 619 173 1. *Ipek* (now called Petch) and its villages.—A large Albanian population of many stocks flowed down from the mountains when the Serbs evacuated it in 1640 and reoccupied the lands formerly taken from their ancestors.

Some villages traced origin from Berisha and Shala. Dechani was populated by descendants of the ancient Shala stock (*q.v.*). This

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district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania.

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them.

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all probability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude.

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

complained against him to the elders, and he was fined ten grosh in Turkish and two gold francs in modern times. In Turkish times a strong man often forced his way through and only a weak man, cowed by the guns levelled at him, turned back. The principle of private ownership was carried so far in this village that it extended even to a certain garden road which was not blind but had an exit as well as an entrance. This was reserved for the villagers of one ward, and forbidden to their animals, to the rest of the village and to 'foreigners', with one exception. If a girl from another ward or village had married into the privileged ward, her kinsmen had leave to use the forbidden path when on their way to visit her. If even one man in the ward objected, however, he had the right to veto their passage. It is not known how this unusual privilege came into being. The most obvious explanation would be that the families in the ward descended from a common male ancestor, but, in fact, the families were of very mixed descent.

In the extreme north the individual's safety on certain inter-tribal thoroughfares was ensured by what was called the 'truce of sheep and shepherd', because it mainly concerned shepherds and their flocks. Actually travellers and public messengers also enjoyed its protection. Two or more tribes, meeting in full assembly of all their bajraktars, heads, and youth, swore a solemn truce to attacks on life and property on a given route or routes within their territory, and guaranteed its observance. They prescribed the limits of the road which it covered, regulated the behaviour of persons taking advantage of it, and enunciated penalties for breaking it. Thus, a shepherd could lead his flock and graze it only within a prescribed limit. A traveller or public messenger journeying from one of the contracting tribes to another had both going and coming to keep within the points fixed. As soon as he had set foot in the foreign tribe's territory he had to go straight to the bajraktar's house and not turn aside to any other. He must not venture out alone but must always be accompanied by the bajraktar or a guide of his providing. So long as shepherd, traveller or public messenger obeyed these rules and kept to the prescribed road, he was regarded as a public guest and consequently was guaranteed public protection and, what was almost more important, public vengeance in the event of being murdered or robbed. Protection came from the knowledge of the penalties which the foreign tribe would exact for any harm done him. If he were murdered the price of his blood

[in the village of Godolesh --Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

A 779 582 Finally he said he supposed he could not; but that such a case had never occurred, and he hoped he should never have to do anything so horrible. So long as he lived in the mountains he was safe.

I dared not ask how many cousins in the female line he had married in all good faith.

A 614 The tribe is sometimes a group of several stocks, in which case marriage within the tribe is possible between them. These groups are called "bairaks" (standards: Turk.). Some tribes consist of but one bairak. The head is the "bairaktar" (standard-bearer). This post is hereditary from father to eldest son. Of old the bairaktar is said to have been important. In my time he had lost ground and was often quite cut out in council by abler men.

A 596 Each bairak contains many groups, called "vlaznii" (brethren), consisting of a family group including second cousins or even further. The Turkish word "mehala" is also used for these groups.

H 114 779 A vivid picture of North Albania before the coming of the Turk is given by Father Brocardus, a Dominican who wrote an account of the routes suitable for the Crusaders in 1332, and presented it to his sovereign, Lord Philippe de Valois. He shows Albania under Serb rule. Especially he recommends the route from Brindisi to Durazzo, and thence across "Abbanie where the people are devout and obedient to the Church of Rome," and thence by way of the Blaques (Vlahs of the Pindus) to Thessalonica.

Of the Kingdom of Rassie (Serbia) he says that it is a land where Catholics are treated with insult and violence. He proposes to the King of France: "Some movements to assail it, and certain easy conditions for taking it. . . . Among other things there is one which does much to make the capture of the said Kingdom of Rassie more easy. Be it known there are two nations, the one the Abbanois, and the other the Latins, who are both of the faith and owe obedience to the Church of Rome, according to which they have Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and religious and secular priests of lower estate and degree. The Latins have six cities and as many bishops. These are Antivari—the Archiepiscopate—Cattaro, Dulcigno, Suacinense, Scutari, and Drivasto. In these cities only Latins live, and some are without the walls. In all their dioceses are Abbanois, who have also four cities: that is to say Polat Major, Polat Minor, Sabbate, and Albanie, which together with the Latins are all subject to the Archbishop of Antivari" (these "cities" are, in fact, districts), "and his Church. And though these *Abbanois have a language quite other from that of the Latins, they use the Latin letters in all their books*. Thus the power of the Latins is enclosed within the circuit of the cities which are theirs, though they have some vineyards and fields without the cities. . . . The Abbanois

H [794] 197 212 245 H 702

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

H 794 present Kopliku; Albanian districts on the Drin are also given or ordered to pay tribute. All of which confirms Father Brocardus's statements.

H 792 651 Stefan Urosh III, when founding the monastery at Dechani, gives it in 1330 many "villages and katuns of Vlahs and Albanians between the Lim and White Drin," and gives a list of persons who are to pay tribute, the last of which are Zaharia and Mihal of Nikita in Pulati, who are to pay the former 4,000 and the latter 2,000 cocoons annually to the Church. All Vlahs and Albanians are to carry salt for the monastery. Thus numbers of peasants were put into the power of the Orthodox Church, but though severe laws were enacted against Catholicism, North Albania in large part remains Catholic.

H 175 779 So soon as the Serb Empire fell, references to Albanian chiefs become frequent, and the Catholic Church speedily took the ascendancy. Many of these chiefs took service with their men under Venice. Others were subsidized by Venice as allies. All documents show that at the time of the Turkish invasion there was a large Albanian population both in the mountains and on the plains, which then, as now, were largely used as winter pasture.

The swoop of the conquering Turk, the capture of Scutari and Alessio, the complete destruction of Drivasto, caused a great dislocation of population. As the Turk settled on the fat plains, numbers of refugees took to the mountains. The tradition now told in the mountains of the north is often that of these immigrant refugees, who tell of having found other inhabitants in the land, but the families who H 582 now trace direct male descent from these are few. The strict law of exogamy must, however, have forced the immigrant to intermarry largely with the old inhabitant, and the race continuity is, therefore, unbroken.

2. The Maltsia e Madhe Group

A 619 The tribes fall into several main groups.

614 The Maltsia e Madhe (the Great Mountains) group consisted, when I visited it, of five large tribes and some smaller ones.

1. *Gruda.*—A tribe of one bairak, situated between the river Tsem and the old Montenegrin frontier. To the north of it is Triepshi and south is Hoti. Triepshi was part of this group till given to Montenegro in 1878. Gruda in 1908 consisted of about five hundred "houses." A [592] A "house" was roughly reckoned at from eight to ten souls.

Of these five hundred "houses," eighty traced descent from Berisha A [167] (see below), and thus are of old indigenous stock. The remainder, called Djell, said they were immigrants from the Herzegovina, and that

163 reproductive organs. That is why first-born children tend preponderantly to be boys. It is the age of the mother that counts. In northern Albania girls are married as soon as they come to sexual maturity and begin bearing children as soon as they are biologically able. There is no time of peace.

128 These statistics, though not complete, help round out the picture drawn in the earlier chapters. All of these things fit together: the environment; the techniques of making a living on the specific kind of landscape; the division of labor between the sexes; the economic unity of the patriarchal household; its independence of similar households; the division of labor between mountain and town; the consequent absence of any need for a technological division of labor among the mountaineers; the difficulty and limitation of travel and transport; the struggle for life within an ever-increasing population; the consequent mechanisms of population control, consisting in some of the border tribes of a certain amount of emigration, but, by and large, taken care of by the time-honored technique of feuds and reciprocal murder, to which the whole system of marriage, and its biological compensations, [177] are adjusted. They show without question the truth of the main point of this paper so far, that the Mountains of Giants form a genetic area peculiarly closed to outside influence.

● 614 [582] We stated in our discourse on marriage that a boy might not marry a girl with whom he could trace any common patrilineal descent.[2] That statement needs elucidation. Actually the Ghegs are divided up into a number of mutually exclusive gentes, called *fis*, based on traditions of common ancestry, complete with origin myths. The extent to which the myths are historically accurate probably depends on how far back the particular *fis* goes. Each *fis* is said to have been derived from a single man, usually someone who came into the country at one time or another, although a few are believed to have been descended from aborigines.

The most numerous and best known *fis* in Ghegnia is that of Dukagin. This includes the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spaç and Kushnen, which

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 25b-27b -- Analyst]

[2] Gates, 1946, vol. 2, pp. 872-73; Little, 1919, pp. 127-30.

2 [see cat. 116, pp. 22b-23a, 23c-23d -- Analyst]

614 constitute three-fifths of Mirdita, as well as Shoshi and Shala in the tribe which bears the Dukagin name. There are 2 origin myths, one told in Dukagin, the other in Mirdita.

According to the first legend, 3 brothers came from a place called Marina near Jakova. One carried a winnowing sieve (*shosh*) and became the ancestor of Shoshi. The other carried a saddle (*shal*) and sired Shala. The third carried nothing, said, "*Mir dit*" (Good day) and walked away. His descendants are the people of Mirdita. The Mirdita people tell a more detailed story. They list 5 brothers, Shosh and Shal as before, named for the objects they carried, and 3 others who settled Mirdita—Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen. The meaning of these words is obscure.[5]

614 621 In Mirdita where these 3 brothers settled they found other people ahead of them, the ancestors of the inhabitants of the 2 remaining *bairaks* of Dibri and Fan. Dibri and Fan had several kinship lines each, hence each consists of a number of *fis*. Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen *bairaks* form a single exogamic unit today. They take their wives from Dibri and Fan, from the Christian *bairaks* of Selita and Kthella in Mati, and they did from Lura before they fell in blood with them. They also marry Christian women from the 7 *bairaks* of Puka. No man from Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen can marry any woman from these 3 *bairaks*, or from Shoshi or Shala.

Shoshi and Shala form an isolated geographical unit, with Shala at the high and Shoshi at the low end of an enclosed upland valley. It is not easy to enter or leave this area. Hence the marriage restrictions between the two, if they ever existed, have disappeared, and Shoshi men regularly marry Shala women, and vice versa. The local rationalization is that over a hundred generations have passed since the time of the 2 ancestral brothers, long enough to remove any trace of consanguinity. By the same token they could theoretically marry their fellow *fis* members from Mirdita, except that the Mirdites would not agree. In any case

[5] The Mirdites claim that *spaç* meant "sickle," *kushnen*, "pitchfork." I did not learn what *orosh* was supposed to mean, nor can my Albanian friends in Boston identify it. *Orosh* may, however, be the same as Urosh, a Slavic name borne by the son of the Tzar

[continued p. 286 --Analyst]

614 621 the 2 tribes are so far apart, and so isolated, that the occasion would not arise. Shosh and Shala, like their brothers, found aborigines in their valley; with the descendants of these earlier residents they too can form convenient short-distance unions.

Merturi and Nikaj, the 2 Catholic *bairaks* of Malsia e Jakovës (the other Catholics, those of Krasniqi, migrated en masse some 30 or more years previously to Jakova) regularly intermarry, back and forth, like Shoshi and Shala. In general the larger exogamous units are found among Catholics, the smaller among Moslems. Most Moslems feel that 7 generations distance between kin is enough to permit marriage, which means that brides are usually taken from nearer home. North of the Drin, and in Mirdita, even when there are several intermarriageable *fis* in a single village, village exogamy is required. In the Moslem tribes to the south and east this is said to be unnecessary. In the town of Gur i Bardh, in Mati, we were told that village endogamy is usual. There can be little question that the Catholic system as practised in Mirdita, Dukagin, and Merturi-Nikaj is historically the older, and is the more closely associated with isolation and intense feuding.

In the next chapter we will go into detail on the number and locations of various *fis*.[1] Here it is enough to state the principle, amply demonstrated by the evidence, that where there has been little travel and a minimum of immigration, one finds single kinship groups occupying wide areas, as in the cases just mentioned. Where there has been more travel and moving around and changing of domicile, one finds many little kinship units in a relatively small area. Thus in Puka, where the main highway passes, there are dozens of *fis*, of a few households each, and the same is true in the more traveled parts of Luma and Dibra, and in the neighborhood of Scutari.

The *fis*, as we have seen, is the basic unit of exogamy. Like all human institutions and aggregations it is a mobile unit, never com-

Dushan, who despoiled the lower Drin country at the end of the 14th century (see page 43).[2] It is obvious that these contemporary translations of the ancestral names are apocryphal.

[p. 28(b)]

1 [See cat. #6, pp. 30a - 34b -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, pp. 43a-43b -- Analyst]

614
621 pletely static. It changes with local needs. We have seen how in Dukagin the local geographical requirements split a *fis*, and how in the relatively less warlike Moslem areas with a reduction in need for extended exogamy, the device of a 7-generation distance was innovated, while village exogamy disappeared. So far we are dealing with reductions in exogamy. However, there are instances in which the opposite occurs, and the incest group is extended. Two ritual mechanisms provide for this, blood brotherhood and godfatherhood..

608

When 2 men become close friends and allies, and find themselves in need of each other's assistance, particularly in feuds, their relationship becomes similar to that of brothers, which is an extremely close one. It is therefore considered necessary that they make this relationship legal, which they do by means of a simple ceremony. The 2 men prick their fingers with knives, and either lick each other's blood, or bleed mutually into a cup of *raki*, which both drink. Once this has been done they are one in blood, and their children cannot marry each other. The other rite, godfatherhood, has its

[p. 29 (a)]

The other rite, godfatherhood, has its
608 motivation in exactly the same circumstances;
852 but it is made to coincide with another rite of passage, that of the first haircut of a baby boy, the son of one of the participants. The father, child, and prospective godfather meet outdoors, in the presence of other kin. The godfather holds the boy in his lap, and snips off 4 locks of hair, if Christian, and 3, if Moslem. The difference lies in the refusal of the Moslem to make the sign of the cross. The godfather then burns the hair. A feast follows, during which the godfather gives the father a present of cash, the father reciprocating with a gift of fine clothing.

604 Both of these rites[1] place the descendants of
614 the 2 principals in an incest relationship. They do not, however, apply to collateral kin, for if *A* and *B* become blood brothers or godfathers, *A*'s brother's son can still wed *B*'s daughter, while *A*'s son cannot. This complicates the picture beyond this simple *fis* system and provides a number of special relationships to meet individual requirements. Needless to say, the local Catholic clergy frown on both these practices.

[1] [blood brotherhood and godfatherhood see cat. 116, pp. 29a - 29b -- Analyst']

124 has to face in the field. Half the Luma sample came from Biçani, which comprises over half the tribe. As one can readily see, these Moslems marry within their own *bairaks* most commonly.

● 614 634 In Puka it is manifest that Kabash and Çeret form each a single *fis*. Berisha, the oldest known *fis* in Ghegnia, has a companion *fis*, Thach, in its *bairak*, with which it sometimes marries. Buxhon and Iballja each have more than one *fis*, as do Puka and Mal i Zi. On the whole the *bairaks* of Puka, whether single or multiple as regards *fis*, are exogamous. Since marriage across the Drin is frequent, many of the men from Buxhon, Berisha, and Iballja may have had mothers from the Lower Pulati section of Dukagin.

We were able to get a complete list of the *fis* in the tribe of Puka, except for Mal i Zi, as follows:

1. *Kabash*, *bairak* and *fis*. Three hundred houses, located in Kabash, Puka, and Iballja.
2. *Marin*, a *fis* of 30 houses in Puka village of Puka *bairak*.
3. *Guian*, a *fis* of 3 or 4 houses only, in Puka village.
4. *Kashnet*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak* only.
5. *Shkrella*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak*, related to the Shkrelli people in Malsia e Madhe.
6. *Krasniq*, with obvious affiliations, 10 houses, Puka village.
7. *Shala*, with obvious affiliations, 60 houses, Puka *bairak*.
8. *Thach*, this is the only *fis* in Buxhon, and one of two in Kabash, the other being Kabash *fis*.
9. *Berisha*, *bairak* and *fis*, a single unit.
10. *Kcheira*, a *fis* in Çeret.
11. *Shosh*, with obvious affiliations, a *fis* in Çeret.
12. *Çereti*, also a *fis* in Çeret.

614 634 361 In Mal i Zi there are said to be many other *fis* besides these 12. The above list shows 7 different *fis* in the single bairak of Puka, with 3 of them limited to a single village. This situation reflects the location of Puka village

[1] Kashnet and Guian of Puka also appear here. Vik, Mesouli, seem to be others.

614 634 361 at a natural stopping point on the Roman road, where other trails come in. It is also a trading center, and one of administration. Its geographical position has brought in people from many places, and it stands in striking contrast to the more isolated *bairaks* of the same tribe, which in some cases have only one *fis* each. If Mal i Zi has many *fis* as well, that is because it too is conveniently located on the road.

In Mirdita exactly the opposite situation is found; the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen all belong to one *fis*, although one village in Orosh is eligible for marriage with these Dukagini. This village was once part of [124] Kthella. Two of our subjects were the sons of women from this village. Fan and Dibri marry both with Dukagini and within their own *fis*, of which there are several.[1] In our series Kushneni married only Dibri, which was nearest; Fan mostly Orosh, for the same reason. One blank bears the astounding information that its subject was the son of an Orosh father and a Kushnen mother. This is undoubtedly some kind of a mistake, possibly similar to the situation noted above.

614 634 Zadrima is only one *bairak*, all Catholic except a few small villages nearest Scutari. Despite its lowland habitat it retains its tribal organization, as well as its Gheg speech, and hence was included in this series. We did not obtain a record of its *fis*.

All 4 *bairaks* of Mati contain 2 or more *fis* each. The 3-part Catholic *bairaks* in the north form an intermarrying group and married with Mirdita extensively in the old days. In the time of our series, Lura was in blood with the Mirdites and the exchange of wives had been broken off. Very rarely do these northerners intermarry with the men of Mat. If this job were to be done again, the 3 northern *bairaks* should be given separate consideration for they are a genetic unit apart from Mat. The northerners are frequently tall, the Mat men almost uniformly short. In Dibra the 4 *bairaks* were almost wholly endogamous, and again separate treatment would be profitable. If we had measured 600 more men, the series would have been a better one.